

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 124263

DISTO

FOL TEL SENT BONN, LONDON, PARIS INFO BERLIN, MOSCOW, NATO  
FROM SECSTATE JUNE 25 TH:

QUOTE: STATE 124263

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, GE, CSCE

SUBJECT: CSCE-- RESERVATION ON FOUR POWER RIGHTS

REF: BONN 8851

1. THE DEPARTMENT AGREES WITH THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND GERMANS THAT DISCLAIMERS AT CSCE OR ELSEWHERE ARE NO LONGER NECESSARY OR APPROPRIATE TO PROTECT THE STATUS OF RELATIONS WITH THE GDR. HAVING SUPPORTED THE GDR UN APPLICATION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL THE US CONSIDERS THAT IT, LIKE FRANCE AND THE UK, HAS NOW RECOGNIZED THE GDR. THERE REMAINS, HOWEVER, THE QUESTION OF THE POSSIBLE EFFECT ON FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES WITH REGARD TO BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE OF A DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES ACCEDED TO BY THE THREE POWERS AT CSCE WHICH WILL CONTAIN A PRINCIPLE ON THE SOVEREIGN EQUALITY OF ALL PARTICIPANTS. THE QUADRIPARTITE DECLARATION TOOK CARE OF THIS PROBLEM IN THE UN CONTEXT BUT IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT THE GDR MIGHT HAVE GROUNDS TO ARGUE  
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LATER THAT IN APPROVING, SUBSEQUENT TO THE QUADRIpartite DECLARATION AND UN MEMBERSHIP, THE CSCE DECLARATION THE WESTERN POWERS RELINQUISHED THEIR CLAIM THAT FOUR POWER RIGHTS LIMIT GDR SOVEREIGNTY.

2. THE DEPARTMENT UNDERSTANDS THE FRG'S SENSITIVITY TO REPEATED EMPHASIS ON FOUR POWER RIGHTS AND WISHES TO AVOID ANY UNNECESSARY OFFENSE. AT THE SAME TIME WE

CONSIDER IT IN THE MUTUAL WESTERN INTEREST TO MAINTAIN COMPLETE CLARITY ON THIS POINT AS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN THE MAINTENANCE OF THE FREEDOM AND SECURITY OF WEST BERLIN. WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE QUADRIpartite DECLARATION HAS BEEN EFFECTIVELY MADE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE UN MEMBERSHIP PROCEDURE FOR THE TWO GERMAN STATES WITHOUT OFFENSE TO ANYONE.

3. THE DEPARTMENT IS GIVING URGENT CONSIDERATION TO INCLUDING A SIMPLE SENTENCE ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES IN THE OPENING US STATEMENT OR TO CIRCULATING SUCH A SENTENCE AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME DURING STAGE II: " AS WE PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE ON A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES I WOULD LIKE TO MENTION THAT JOINING IN SUCH A DECLARATION CAN IN NO WAY AFFECT THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FOUR POWERS REGARDING BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE." OUR OBJECTIVE WOULD BE TO AVOID ANY PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THIS POINT AND TO PRECLUDE, TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, A RESPONSE FROM OTHER PARTICIPANTS.

4. WE WOULD APPRECIATE THE VIEWS OF THE OTHER BONN GROUP MEMBERS AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND FOR THIS REASON SUGGEST THAT IN ADDITION TO DISCUSSION IN THE BONN GROUP EMBASSIES PARIS AND LONDON MAKE DIRECT APPROACHES ON THE SUBJECT. SHOULD SUCH A SENTENCE BE INCLUDED IN AN OPENING US STATEMENT WE WOULD WELCOME AN ASSOCIATING STATEMENT FROM THE BRITISH AND FRENCH IN THE SAME WAY AS THE US AND UK ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH THE FRENCH STATEMENT ON THE QUADRIpartite DECLARATION IN NEW YORK. IF A SENTENCE WERE CIRCULATED DURING PHASE II JOINT ACTION BY THE THREE POWERS WOULD SEEM DESIRABLE. ROGERS UNQUOTE ROGERS  
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